133 Calicut, Cochin, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivan-
361 drum), are situated on the coast, divided by chains of little fishing villages. In the northern
133 half a railway runs along its edge from Manga-
361 lore in South Canara, southeast to Shoranur,
496 where it divides and turns off northeast to Madras and south to Ernakulam, the capital of Cochin State. In the extreme south another railway comes in from Tinnevelly District in the east, and follows the coast from Quilon to Trivandrum. (See Map 1.)

133 The midlands comprise low hills and fertile
241 valleys. Broad strips of alluvial rice-lands lie in the valleys, thinning out as the land rises into the foothills of the Ghats. On the hill slopes are gardens of coconut palms, tapioca, plantains, pepper, ginger, rubber, cashew-nut trees, and many fruit trees such as jack and mango. Cashews (introduced by the Portuguese) and pepper have become for the past 100 years particularly important cash crops on the hill-slopes of North Malabar District, while bamboo is more prevalent in South Malabar District and Cochin. The coconut is ubiquitous and very important in the total economy. There are a few small bazaar
[361] towns, [3] but most of the people live in villages, on garden land surrounding or surrounded by wet paddy-flats.

133 The highlands rising into the Ghats are covered
[136] mainly by thick virgin forests harbouring wild elephant and small tigers. The foothills are
[162] sparsely populated by people of the same cultural groups as are found in the plains, while higher in the mountains live primitive tribes.

613 644 631 soldiers and Nayar women stationary in their villages. It was left to the British, with their introduction of a new highly specialized expanding economy with mechanized industry, to crack the system apart. This was essentially a small-scale feudal system - (the Zamorin's kingdom, at the height of its power, cannot have had more than 500,000 inhabitants) - and it depended on the existence of a fairly stable economy with the village as the basic social unit, self-sufficient for food.[101]

NOTES

162 [611] (1) In 1931 the matrilineal castes numbered roughly one-fifth of the total population.

(2) Muslims in 1931 numbered about 15% of the total population, being concentrated chiefly in the south of Malabar District. The first conversions to Islam were probably carried out in the ninth century by Arab traders who visited the coast. This community, called the Mappillas, increased greatly after the fourteenth century, but particularly during the Muslim invasions from Mysore in the 1760's. The Muslims of North Malabar District follow matrilineal descent with matrilocal residence; those of other areas follow patriliny. For a brief account of [113] North Malabar Muslim kinship see Gough, "Incest Prohibitions and Rules of Exogamy in three matrilineal groups of the Malabar Coast", in Int. Archives of Ethnography, June 1952.

The Christians of Kerala numbered about 20% of the population in 1931. The Syrian Christians,

162 the most numerous and ancient group, claim that their church was founded by St. Thomas. The Portuguese converted some of them by force to Roman Catholicism and also made many converts from the lowest Hindu castes. Christians are concentrated chiefly in Cochin and Travancore.

113 (3) For a fuller discussion of the meaning of this ceremony see Gough, "Female Initiation Rites on the Malabar Coast", forthcoming in J.R.A.I.

(4) E. Colson and M. Gluckman, Seven Tribes of British Central Africa (1951), p. 129. [102]

787 (5) Occasionally the astrologer may divine that
753 the spirit of a recent ancestress is causing sickness to women or children. An emergency propitiation of cooked food is then made to here in the ancestor-shrine.

769 (6) In a new house there may be no stool at all,
778 unless the house was built some time before the partition by a man who died before it became occupied by the new property-group, and who thus becomes its first karanavan-spirit. If there are no stools the members of the group go back to their parent-house for ancestral propitiations for one or two generations.

212 (7) Nayar women like men could traditionally read and write Malayalam, and keep accounts.

796 (8) Onam is a harvest-festival in September; Vishu the New Year's Day, in March; and Tiruvadhira, a women's festival to Kama Devan, the Hindu god of passion.

113 (9) Murdock, Social Structure, 1949, p. 10.

(10) From the Book of Duarte Barbosa, (Hakluyt

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 AWll Kerala AWll
Central Kerala Nayar

Nayar: Central Kerala

The Nayars, unlike the groups so far described, form only a part-society—a named category of castes within the social system of south-west India. An account of their kinship system therefore requires a sketch of the political and economic system in which they were embedded. It seems to have been the Nayars' role as a specialized occupational group within a complex society which accounted for the most unusual features of their kinship institutions.

The Nayars differ also from the other groups considered with regard to their relatively high level of technological development. At least from the first century A.D., Kerala's social structure was based upon plough agriculture with irrigation, specialized crafts, and overseas trade (K. M. Panikkar, 1945: 36). Productivity was sufficiently high so that more than one-quarter of the population could be exempted from manual labor and set apart as specialist, literate groups engaged in religion, government, warfare, and wholesale trade. The Nayars, as the ruling and military castes, formed the core of this aristocracy and probably comprised between one-quarter and one-fifth of the total population.[1]

Partly as a result of direct legal changes brought about since the British conquest of 1792, and, more deeply, as a result of the change to an industrial fuel technology, the Nayar system of matrilineal groups has been gradually disintegrating over the past hundred years. Some of the traditional functions of these matrilineal units are being taken over by the elementary family and by the wider, personal, bilateral kindred of each individual. Other former functions of matrilineal groups have passed to such modern bureaucratic institutions as government, army, law court, and school. Because this book is a comparative study of matrilineal systems, I shall concentrate on Nayar lineages and kinship in the "traditional" period before the British

[1] Buchanan estimated the population density of Central Kerala at 100 per square mile in 1800 (1807, II: 501). The density for Cochin State was 814 per square mile in 1931 (Census of India, Cochin State, 1931).

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A W11 Kerala A W11
Central Kerala Nayar

Caste and Territorial Divisions

THE HIGH CASTES

564 *The Nambudiri Brahmans* Throughout Kerala the Nambudiri Brahmans were the highest Hindu caste and the ritual and scholastic leaders. Today they form one hundredth of the population (Censuses of Madras, Cochin, and Travancore, 1931). Carriers of the Sanskrit language and of ancient Vedic culture, they are thought to have entered Malabar from the eastern plateau sometime after the fall of the Chera kingdom (Logan, 1951, I: 121, 243; Ayyar, 1938: 47). Most Nambudiris were landlords of substance, but they included a number of ranked occupational sub-castes of varying wealth. The greater landlords were managers of large temples, promulgators of religious law, legal advisers of the kings, priests of public sacrifices, or philosophers and Vedic scholars. The lower sub-castes, whose members owned smaller estates, included temple priests, physicians, and household priests and professional cooks who officiated at ceremonies in the Nayar castes.

564 The Nambudiris ranked ritually above the kings and were to some extent above and outside the political systems of the kingdoms. Alone of all the castes, they moved unmolested between enemy kingdoms. They held ceremonies attended by their caste fellows from all parts of Kerala and carried on their system of intra-caste administration independently of the administration of justice within the kingdoms. For the latter purpose they divided Kerala into *gramams* (caste areas) (Logan, 1951, I: 120). Over the whole region a dignitary called the Aravancheri Tamburakkal, who lived in the Calicut kingdom, was universally acknowledged as the ritual and administrative leader of the Nambudiris (Buchanan, 1807: 423–426; Ayyar, 1938: 23). He held the right to install the kings of both Calicut and Cochin, even though these rulers were traditionally at enmity. The field of social relations of the Nambudiris was thus the whole of Kerala and they played a role not dissimilar to that of the medieval Catholic church. Descent among the Nambudiris was patrilineal.

564 *The High-Caste Nayars* Below the Nambudiri Brahmans in ritual rank came the royal *matrilineages* of the several kingdoms. Those in Central Kerala were Calicut, Walluvanad, Palghat, and Cochin. Although of Nayar origin, each of these lineages considered itself superior in ritual rank to the Nayar subjects within its kingdom. Between kingdoms, royal lineages disputed for rank and would not intermarry. Although exogamous, therefore, each royal lineage considered

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wll Kerala A Wll
Central Kerala Nayar

564 [361] tioned were called "high," "good," or "clean" castes. They lived in a separate portion of the village around the temples and the landlord's establishment, with each house in its own fenced garden. Except for the servant Nayars all might enter either Brahman or Nayar temples. Within this group, lower castes were forbidden to touch higher castes because of rules of ritual pollution, but individuals of different castes might approach each other within a few feet. Equal interdining took place only between caste fellows, but members of lower castes might *receive* food from higher-caste hosts. In ritual terms these castes thus formed the upper ranks of society, although only the Nayar retainers and those above them were economically and socially aristocrats. Nambudiris and two small castes of their temple servants were patrilineal; all the rest were matrilineal.

101 121 564 I have designated as "Nayars" all the castes which bear this title today. They are not a unitary group but a named category of castes. Traditionally, the title Nayar seems not to have been extended to all these castes. Before 1498 the military Nayars or retainer Nayars were called Lokar (Ayyar, 1938: 32). What the other matrilineal castes were called is not known. "Nayar" was not then a caste name [703] but a title conferred by the king on lineages whose members had won special military honor. The Portuguese called all the soldiers "Nayars" and during the period of European trade it seems to have come into use as a title held by all the military castes. Some Nayars say that the temple menial castes and the matrilineal castes of washermen and barbers usurped the title only during British rule, in order to raise their status. The higher temple-servant castes, although matrilineal, never adopted the title because they ranked above the military Nayars and had honorable titles of their own. This paper primarily concerns the Nayar military retainers, their village headmen, chiefs, and royalty.

THE HIGHER POLLUTING CASTES

564 ● 162 621 The high castes were the religious and secular aristocrats and their personal servants. In many respects the polluting castes lived a separate social life, being located in a different part of the village. They included, in order of rank, Tiyyars (called Iravas in Cochin), who were palm-wine makers and tenant farmers, with twenty to forty households per village; Kanisans or astrologers, with one to three households per village; the artisan castes of blacksmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters, bell-metal workers, and stonemasons (who ranked equally), each with one to three houses per village; low-caste washermen and barbers (who ranked equally), each with one to five houses per vil-

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A W11 Kerala A W11
Central Kerala Nayar

lage; and bow makers, each with about one to ten houses per village. Tiyyars, astrologers, washermen, and barbers had double unilineal descent: localized patrilineages with dispersed exogamous matrilineal clans. Artisans and bow makers had patrilineages only.

The polluting castes worked for each other and for the higher castes. Tiyyars held land on a sub-tenure from landlords and Nayar tenants. Astrologers and artisans gave services to the higher castes, to each other, and to the Tiyyars, who ranked above them. Barbers worked for all the higher polluting castes but not for the "good" castes, who employed the Nayar barber. Washermen laundered for all the higher polluting castes but not regularly for the "good" castes, who employed the Nayar washerman. However, the low-caste washerman's lineage owed services to the "good" castes at death, menstruation, and childbirth. Bow makers served Nayars and Tiyyars. Each of the polluting castes was endogamous and interdined only within the caste.

THE LOWER POLLUTING CASTES

On the outskirts of the village, in separate small hamlets, lived the very low castes of Parayas and Pulayas. Parayas were a small caste of basket and umbrella makers. Two or three households had a village right to serve all castes above them. Pulayas were until 1850 the agricultural serfs of Nayars, temple servants, and Brahmans (Buchanan, 1807: 370–372). As highly polluting castes, Pulayas and Parayas were theoretically forbidden to approach the high castes within a distance of sixty-four feet. They might not enter the "good" area of the village or walk on the main paths.

OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Muslims, called Mappillas, were concentrated in the Zamorin's kingdom, where they followed patrilineal descent. In 1931 they formed about 15 per cent of Kerala's population. Their presence dates from the ninth century, when Arab traders began to make converts, probably mainly from the Tiyyars and the coastal caste of fishermen. From the Arabs and from these converts there sprang a flourishing trading community which increased greatly in the fourteenth century (Logan, 1951, I: 192–197). The Zamorins derived a large measure of their power from the Muslims through taxes and naval support (Ayyar, 1938: 54). Muslims lived mainly in the ports and at inland trading posts on the banks of rivers. They were partly outside the village ranking system, which had its basis in differential land rights, and were theoretically outside the Hindu religious hierarchy. Nevertheless, Muslims were in some contexts accorded a rank ritually and socially between that of Nayars and Tiyyars.

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wll Kerala A Wll
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563 The Christians of Kerala numbered about 20 per cent of the popu-
[162] lation in 1931. The Syrian Christians, the most ancient and numerous group, may be descended from Persian Nestorians; they were trading on the coast at least by 525 A.D. (McCrindle, 1897: 119). Christians
[65] were and are concentrated in Travancore and Cochin. They received land grants near the ports and enjoyed virtual self-government provided they paid taxes to the kings (Logan, 1951, I: 260–270; III: cxxi–cxxvi). As landlords, tenants, and administrators—as well as traders—they ranked socially parallel to the Nayars and were served in the same manner by Hindu polluting castes and serfs. Their trade declined after the Arabs became dominant on the coast, and some of them began to serve in the royal armies along with Nayars. The Portuguese converted some Syrians to Roman Catholicism, but the converts still retained the Syriac rite. All Syrians were readily distinguishable from the lower-ranking Latin Catholics, converts to Catholicism from Portuguese times who were drawn from various polluting castes.

The Economic System

438 The principles of reciprocity and redistribution,[4] rather than of market trade, dominated the village economy until toward the mid-nineteenth
[564] century. In villages, castes were characterized by hereditary occupations and correspondingly by hereditary, differential rights in the
[463] produce of village lands (Logan, 1951, I: 110–112, 269, 270, 599–600, 623). The village landlord and the Nayar tenants were the main redistributive agents, collecting in goods from the lower orders and
[592] redistributing them in customary shares. In all village economic transactions, *households*, and not whole caste groups or individuals, were the units of interaction.

471 The village landlord's household "owned" almost all the land in the
592 village. "Ownership" meant both more and less than modern Western
566 landownership (Logan, 1951, I: 602–603). The landlord might not sell his land without the consent of the king or of a chief, and sale was restricted to families of appropriate caste. He might not evict his tenants, village servants, or serfs without their consent unless they committed grave crime (*ibid.*, I: 607). On the other hand, the landlord's ownership included judicial rights over the village population.

The landlord retained a portion of the land as his private domain for cultivation by his serfs. The rest was held by Nayar retainer households as non-cultivating tenants (*kānakkar*). The tenant's household

[4] For an analysis of the general operation of these principles in the Indian village economy, see Neale, 1957: 218–236.

162 564 According to the Census Report, 1891, they numbered 377,828 in Malabar. The figures found in this useful document offer an instance of the unreliability of casual observation. The author of "A Manual of Malabar Law" describes the peoples of Malabar to some extent, and in his Introduction says: "The Nâyars constitute the major portion of the Malabar population." One hears of Malabar as the land of the Nâyars, as if its inhabitants were all Nâyars. Certainly they may be said to form the most distinguishing feature of the district; but, when we seek in the spirit of accuracy, we find the surprising fact that they number but 14·2 per cent. of its population.

611 564 The chief immediate interest attached to them lies in the fact of their being the best, that is the fullest, the most complete existing example of matriarchy, or, to be more strictly accurate, of inheritance through females. [171] This system, obtaining at one time amongst the Celts and other races of Europe, was probably universal in the sense that it existed at some period in the life history of every race of mankind, and is now to be found here and there in the world.

611 171 That inheritance through females was once the rule in Southern India is fairly obvious. Amongst others the Maravars, who are, so far as we can surmise at present, aborigines in the sense that we know of no earlier inhabitants in the part of the peninsula occupied by them, to this day offer strong proof of this. I refer to the genuine Maravars—the Kondayan Kottai Maravars of Tinnevelly—and not to the offshoots settled in Trichinopoly and elsewhere, who have almost entirely forsaken all the customs of their fathers.* Amongst the Maravars the girl on marriage joins the sept of her husband, but she retains her own sept name, and her children are of *her* sept; not of their father's. Marriage between persons of the same sept name is prohibited; and this is regulated solely through the mothers. The tribe is endogamous; but the septs within it are exogamous. Thus, a man or a girl cannot marry any one of the same sept, having the same sept name (which is inherited through their mother), and *must* marry some one within the tribe but of a different sept to his or her own—of his father's sept or any other. Though property

* Most of the cigar makers of Trichinopoly are Maravars in origin. Their names — ——— Naidu, ——— Pillay, and so on are borrowed from people of higher castes.

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[P. 97]

CHAPTER V.

THE SUDRAS OF COCHIN.

A. THE HIGH CASTE SUDRAS (NAYARS)

(Continued).

Occupation.

Among the high caste Nayars, the recognition of caste by occupation is not possible. They were at one time a military caste, and as a relic of it, the small force of infantry maintained by the State is still known by the name of the ancient military caste of Kerala. Aristocratic military leaders of the feudal ages, who then derived their incomes chiefly from landed property, in these times of uninterrupted peace and tranquillity, are but shadows of their former state. Some of them are almost penniless, and while a few families maintain their ancient position, most of them have lost prestige and influence. Among the lower classes of Nayars, there are sub-castes who by occupation were potters, weavers, oil-mongers, and copper-smiths; but the men of these sub-castes have abandoned their traditional occupations, and even consider it a disgrace to be known by their original occupation. This is partly due to the acquisition of wealth by a number of the caste-men, and partly to their attempts to rise in the social scale by engaging themselves in other walks of life. There are again some classes (*Illakkars* or *Sudras*) of Nayars who rendered personal services to the Nambuthiris or to their own community, and the tendency has been to discontinue the services and take to other more respectable calling.

The Nayars numbered 1,11,837 at the last Census, and of these, 28,786 are agriculturists. These include tenant farmers, agricultural labourers, growers of special products and those connected with agricultural training and forests. Very few take to manufacture and trade. The sentiments generated by the old feudalism, a rigid conservatism of caste and their residence in rural areas account for it to a great extent.

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Nayar

except to cease to function, and to divide the *tarwad* property among individual members. Theoretically the loss of the elements *A*, *B*, *C* and *D* marks the end of the *tarwad* institution. Nevertheless, the *tarwad* is still conceptualized as a distinctive social and ceremonial group by the element *E*, in spite of the loss of all other elements.

In 1956 (March-June) when I studied the Nayar, most of the *tarwad* in Kerala had already ceased to exist as a functional body. In a large building named *tarwad* where once lived more than fifty members of a matrilineal family, I found only a few members: such as an old mother and her daughter with her husband and children. The members of each *tarwad* were dispersed, forming independent small households each with a spouse and children, having already partitioned the *tarwad* property. Many of the older generation who are aged fifty and the head (father) of the household consisting of an elementary family, were born in a *tarwad*, and had experiences of the *tarwad* life. They are the people who lived through the dramatic stage of the disintegration of the *tarwad*. Their life history itself reflects the great changes in the Nayar matrilineal system.

It is extremely interesting to study through these living members the process, by which the members of a *tarwad* organized on a strict matrilineal principle, without allowing cohabitation of husband and wife, gradually reorganized into many individual elementary families in the course of half a century. The disintegration of the Nayar system as a whole took about two centuries but it seems that the actual disintegration of an individual *tarwad* is about half a century. The following discussion deals with how individual members acted at various stages of the disintegration of the *tarwad;* and what the changes of the matrilineal system actually mean to those individuals who are involved; and what are the consequences of the disintegration of the *tarwad*.

Marayil Tarwad

The *tarwad* which I have chosen for study is named Marayil, and one of the Nayar *tarwad* in Ernaklum, Cochin. This *tarwad* had many advantages for my purposes. The majority of the members of the *tarwad*, who now form many different households, still reside near each other, within the thirty minutes walk. The number of the descendants of the foundress of the *tarwad* amounts to 94 altogether in May 1956, ranging through seven generations. Many *tarwad* were much bigger in numbers, and deeper in generations, than this. Another advantage is that it represents a *tarwad* of a typical upper middle class among the Nayar caste in this area: present occupations of these members are government officials, advocates, teachers, etc. They have very friendly relationships with many other Nayars in this area, and are thought of as respectable people. The husbands, at every generation, are all Nayars, without a single case of a marriage with a Nambudri Brahman, as is common among the upper class Nayar in this area, nor with a Irawa, the caste below the Nayar.

Marayil *tarwad* was founded around 1830. The first partition by which the

[text continues on p. 21]

11: India G-4,5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

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COMPARATIVE POSITION OF BIRTH AND DEATH RATES

		Average birth rate per year per 1,000 persons	*Average death rate per year per 1,000 persons*
1941-51	All-India	41.3	24.9
	Kerala	38.2	19.9
1951-56	All-India	41	25
	Kerala	38	17

SOURCE: NCEAR calculations based on Census data and corrected birth and death registration data.

1.18 In fact comparative data for the different States shows that the death rate in Kerala is the lowest in the whole of India. The death rate is lowest in Kerala, presumably because of the generally high standard of hygiene of the people of this area. The erstwhile States of Travancore and Cochin had long followed a progressive policy in the field of providing public amenities such as medical facilities, sanitation, etc. Since the standards of literacy as well as the average level of intelligence are fairly high in Kerala, with a more vigorous family planning programme it should be possible to bring down the birth rate within a shorter span of time than in many other parts of India.

Rural-Urban Breakdown

1.19 Only 13.5 per cent of Kerala's population lived in urban areas against 17.38 per cent of all-India, according to the Census of 1951. This difference seems to have narrowed down during the last decade, the proportion of urban population in Kerala having risen to 15.03 per cent by 1961, while it rose to only 17.84 per cent for the whole of India.[1]

1.20 The villages in Kerala are unique in size. According to the Census of 1951 as high as 13 per cent of villages had a population exceeding 5,000 persons against only 0.38 per cent of such villages in the whole of India. However, there are some redeeming features which prevent the countryside from presenting an appearance of over-congestion. The villages in Kerala are of a different type than is usual in the rest of India. The homesteads are generally not clustered together but are dotted almost all over the countryside. This spread out of population keeps living conditions healthy and clean in the rural areas.

STATE INCOME, OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION AND LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY

1.21 The State income of Kerala in 1955-56 has been estimated at Rs. 351.6 crores[2] at the current prices (Table 3). This is roughly 3.4 per cent of the National Income of India (Rs. 9,980 crores) for the same year. For an area which is only

[1] It may be noted that this is only a broad conclusion as the definitions of urban areas in Census of 1951 and of 1961 are not identical.

[2] *See* Appendix 2 for details.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWII Kerala AWII

against the all-India average of 7.5 acres; and over 60 per cent of the landholdings in Travancore-Cochin area are less than one acre in size.

1.31 The high pressure of population also reveals itself in an urge to push along the margin of cultivable area as far as possible. This is shown by the fact that the proportion of net sown area (45.25 lakh acres) to total area of the State was as high as 47.16 per cent against 39 per cent for the whole of India in 1956. The higher proportion assumes even a greater significance in view of the fact that forests cover over 25 per cent of the total area of Kerala (all-India—18%).

1.32 The agricultural labourers form a very high proportion of the agricultural population (Kerala 39%: India 17.5%), and the extent of under-employment among them is also one of the highest in India. The number of days of employment per agricultural labourer in Kerala was only 170 days per year[1], the lowest in the whole of India.

1.33 A deterioration in the position of the agricultural labourers is shown by the decline in the average annual income of agricultural labour households between 1951 and 1957. As can be seen from the table below, the average annual income of an agricultural labourer's household in Kerala declined from Rs. 486 in 1951 to Rs. 437 in 1956. This is a much steeper decline than observed in the case of the whole of India, presumably due to a higher rate of growth of population in Kerala than in India.

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR HOUSEHOLDS

	Kerala (Rs.)	*India* (Rs.)
1950-51	486	447
1956-57	437	437

SOURCE: *Second Report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee.*

Consumption Pattern

1.34 The level of consumption expenditure per head is a good indicator of the standard of living prevailing in any region. Table 5[2] gives a comparative picture of the pattern of consumption expenditure for the rural areas of Travancore-Cochin[3] and India. As may be seen, the average monthly consumption expenditure in Kerala (Rs. 18.64) is lower than that in all-India (Rs. 21.44), indicating a somewhat lower standard of living in the State.

1.35 The break-up of total expenditure into different items of consumption reveals some interesting points. The expenditure on foodgrains, milk and milk products is not only absolutely lower in Kerala but even as a proportion of total expenditure, it is considerably below the all-India average. On the other hand, meat, egg, fish and 'other food' absorb quite a high proportion of consumption expenditure in Kerala. These differences reflect the relative scarcity of foodgrains

[1] *Report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee.*

[2] The data is compared for Travancore-Cochin and India (1952) because figures for Kerala State are not available. However, the conclusions are likely to be broadly true of Kerala also.

3/2 [See p. 272, Category 11b -- Analysis]

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

of these schemes is being expanded to handle 250 maunds per day during the Third Plan. Under these schemes, milk from the surrounding villages would be collected and pasteurized before bottling them for sale. The schemes will serve a two-fold purpose: (*i*) they will give incentive for a higher production of milk in the rural areas by offering fair prices and (*ii*) they will provide hygienic milk to the urban population at a reasonable price. The unscrupulous middleman will be eliminated by this process.

3.29 The dairy development programme of this type needs to be taken up on a much larger scale than at present. This is necessary to provide an outlet for the likely increase in milk production and for making hygienic fluid milk available to the urban people. Owing to acute shortage of clean and pure milk in the urban areas, milk supply schemes of the type discussed above might prove a great success. It would be good if all the urban areas with a population of over 30,000 are served with such schemes. According to 1951 Census there were 13 towns in Kerala with a population exceeding 30,000. At the end of the Second Plan, 11 among these were still without any milk scheme. It is, therefore, suggested that these milk schemes should be organized in all these towns. The capacity, investment required, etc., for these schemes is given in Table 22.[2]

3.30 Many of the dairy units proposed here may find it difficult to get sufficient quantities of milk from the surrounding areas owing to the poor yield of animals and low marketable surplus with the farmers. In order to justify collection, marketing and sales organization of even the smallest size, it is considered necessary to have a handling capacity of 150 maunds per day. In case sufficient milk is not available, which is likely to be the case at least in some centres, a part of the capacity may be utilized for bottling reconstituted milk. Reconstituted milk can be of various types depending upon the fomulae. Milk powder is a common ingredient in all the types. A survey of consumer preference and tastes may be conducted before choosing the type, and part of the demand for fluid milk may be met in this way. Such a survey is essential before embarking upon the actual production of reconstituted milk because the new product may meet considerable consumer resistance in its initial stages. Propaganda and other measures to popularize the use of reconstituted milk will also have to be taken up side by side.

3.31 In smaller towns, that is, those with less than 30,000 population, cooperatives for supply of milk, may be organized with consumers or producers. There were 12 such societies in 1958. These societies should be encouraged.

3.32 Munnar is a region which possesses the potential for growth into a large scale commercial dairy farming centre. Many exotic cattle breeds[1] are thriving in the region. The performance of some of the herds maintained by a few sterling tea companies is said to be of a high order and compares favourably with that of similar herds maintained in the countries from which these cattle are imported. It is suggested that the Department of Animal Husbandry should further investigate the economic feasibility of commercial dairying in the Munnar region. If the investigation reveals prospects, the State may organize a few such dairy farms in the public

[1] Jersey and Holstein.

[2] [Table 22, appearing on p. 286 of the text, has not been processed. – Ankahut]

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be so regulated as not to disturb the present symbiosis between the plant species present. Intensive research is, therefore, urgently required to find ways and means of inducing adequate regeneration of the evergreen forests. There are at present two research stations in the State at Malayathur and Nilambur. The location of a third station in the evergreen forest areas is recommended.

Eupatorium

4.25 A problem that has been engaging the attention of the Forest Department is that of the weed eupatorium. It got introduced into the State from Assam at the end of the Second World War by some ex-service men who had served in Assam. The weed has spread like wild fire throughout the State and has become a serious menace. Recent research carried out by a biochemist in Trivandrum has found a use for this shrub in the manufacture of fertilizers. Further research may be carried out to find its fruitful uses.

Tribals

4.26 A few tribes reside within the forest areas. They are allowed free grazing rights and privileges of cultivation, free of assessment. However, this does not provide them with a full-time occupation. On the other hand, it is not possible to arrange for their migration to midland or the coastal region because of the high pressure of population which exists in these areas. It has, therefore, been suggested in this Report, that two labour colonies should be formed in grass land *sholas* where large scale planting of *Eucalyptus Grandis* is taking place. This labour force could later be employed in the proposed newsprint mills when they come up.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

4.27 During the First Plan period there was no forest development scheme. A beginning in forest development programmes was made only during the Second Plan. An amount of Rs. 1.24 crores out of a total Plan outlay of Rs. 87 crores was earmarked for forest development plans in the Second Plan period. By the end of 1959, however, only Rs. 21.68 lakhs had been spent. The shortfall arose mainly on account of two items. The largest single item among forestry was acquisition of private forests in Malabar and for this Rs. 40.95 lakhs had been allotted. Due to procedural difficulties, this could not be undertaken and only Rs. 0.34 lakhs had been spent by the end of 1959. Secondly, although the progress of cashewnut afforestation programmes in terms of physical target has been statisfactory, as can be seen from Table 24, the cost of afforestation programmes at Rs. 24 lakhs was an over-estimate. Actual performance has been possible within Rs. 4.81 lakhs.

4.28 Table 24 gives the Plan provision and progress in execution of various schemes upto the end of 1959. Overall progress has been slow, except in the raising of plantations where the Department hopes to achieve all the targets. The slow progress

[Table 24, appearing on p. 287 of the text, has not been processed — Analyst]

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Chapter 11

Manpower and Employment

PART I: MANPOWER

ONE OF THE chief problems of Kerala today is the vast unemployed section of its manpower. An appraisal of the analysis of employment prospects, therefore, becomes very important. The extent of urbanization, sex distribution, the size of the labour force, its rate of participation, and occupational distribution—all these are, therefore, studied in detail in what follows.

Urbanization

11.2 Progress in urbanization in Kerala is less as compared to the country as a whole. Of the total population of Kerala, 13.5 per cent live in urban areas against 17.38 per cent for the whole of India according to the Census of 1951. The degree of urbanization has been progressively increasing over the past few decades. This is shown by the table below which gives the relative rates of growth of the urban and rural population during the period 1921–51. As may be seen, urban population has been growing at a faster rate than the rural population.

MEAN DECENNIAL GROWTH RATE OF POPULATION

(Per Cent)

	1921–30	*1931–40*	*1941–50*
Urban	27.18	23.26	29.38
Rural	22.85	16.53	20.12
TOTAL	*23.31*	*17.27*	*21.22*

N.B.: It may be noted that these figures pertain only to the old Travancore-Cochin State.

SOURCE: *Census of India*, Volume XIII, Travancore-Cochin (Part I, Subsidiary Table).

11.3 During the last decade, that is, 1951–61, urbanization seems to have increased at a somewhat faster rate than in the whole of India. The proportion of population living in urban areas of Kerala grew from 13.05 per cent in 1951 to 15.03 per cent in 1961, whereas in the case of all-India the proportion registered an increase from 17.38 per cent to only 17.84 per cent.[1] In view of the plans for a faster growth of industries,

[1] As pointed out in Chapter 1, too much reliance should not be placed on a comparison of urbanization between 1951 and 1961 since the definition of urban areas during the two Census operations has not been the same.

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the trend towards a high rate of urbanization may be expected to continue during the coming decade.

Sex Distribution

11.4 One of the interesting demographic features of Kerala is its sex distribution which shows an excess of females. Out of a total population of 16.88 million[1] in 1961, females (8.53 million) outnumbered the males (8.35 million) by 0.18 million giving a sex ratio of 1,022 females to a thousand males (all-India: 940 females to 1,000 males). The proportion of females in the population had been rising successively over the past few decades till 1951, but during the past decade it has shown a slight tendency to fall as shown by the following table:

SEX RATIO (KERALA STATE)

Year	*Female per 1,000 males*
1901	1,004
1911	1,008
1921	1,011
1931	1,022
1941	1,027
1951	1,028
1961	1,022

11.5 The excess of females is especially marked in the working age groups. Whereas in the age group 0-15 years males exceeded females in the ratio 100: 97.7, in the age group 15-55 years the position was reverse, there being 100 males to 106.5 females. (1951 Census)

11.6 The pattern of sex distribution in the rural and urban areas is broadly similar to that in the rest of India. Females are generally found to be more predominant in the rural areas. In Kerala this contrast is quite marked as can be seen from the fact that rural sex ratio is 1,034 to a 1,000 males against the urban ratio of 990 to 1,000. The cause of this rural-urban difference is rooted in the sociological factors, the most important of which is that the males generally come over to the towns for earning their livelihood, leaving behind other members of the family in the villages.

Age Structure

11.7 Age structure is an important determinant of the proportion of economically active persons in the population. An economy with a high proportion of older people is necessarily less dynamic than an economy with a large element of younger blood. Table 56[2] gives a comparative picture of the age structure of the population in Kerala and in India, according to the Census of 1951.

[1] *1961 Census* (Provisional Population figures).

[2] [Table 56, appearing on p. 309 of the text, has not been processed -- Analyst]

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11.8 In the context of an under-developed economy like that of Kerala, it is difficult to define distinct boundary lines for the working age group, since participation in economic activity starts at an early age and at the other end of the ladder there is no fixed age of retirement. However, taking 15-55 years, as roughly representing the age group within which people actively take part in work, 53.3 per cent of Kerala's population belonged to this group against 52.4 per cent for all-India. It will also be noted from Table 56 that the working age group of the population in Kerala has a larger component of younger people than in all-India. A higher proportion of persons fall within the category of 15-25 years in Kerala while the reverse is the case with those in the age group 25-55 years.

LIVELIHOOD CLASSIFICATION

11.9 The table below gives the comparative break-up of the population of Kerala and all-India according to the sources of livelihood (1951 Census data).

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

	All-India (in million)	*Percentage to total population*	*Kerala* (in million)	*Percentage to total population*
Total Population	356.7	100.0	13.5	100.0
Self-supporting Persons	104.8	29.4	3.7	27.4
Earning Dependents	38.4	10.8	0.8	5.9
Non-earning Dependents	213.5	59.8	9.0	66.7

It will be noticed that the proportion of non-earning dependents is very high in Kerala. In fact, it is the highest in India with the exception of Madras. The burden of dependence, therefore, is very acute in Kerala.

Working Force and Participation Rates

11.10 The converse of a high rate of dependence is the low proportion of working force to the total population. Working force is defined as that section of the total population which takes part in productive activity. In terms of the classification in 1951 Census, the earners, that is, self-supporting persons and the earning dependents comprise the working force. The ratio of working force to the total population in any sector of the economy is defined as the sectoral participation rate.

11.11 According to the 1951 Census, Kerala had a total working force of 45.4 lakhs.[1] The general participation rate, that is, the rate of total working force to total population works out to only 33.5 per cent against a much higher figure of 39.9 per cent for the whole of India. Table 57 gives a break-up of general participation rate in terms of sectoral rates. This table reveals that it is the rural participation rate which is primarily responsible for this wide divergence between Kerala and India. Whereas Kerala's urban participation rate is only about 2 per cent less than the all-

[1] *Vide* Appendix 2 for the method of calculation.

[Table 57, appearing on p. 309 of the text, has not been processed - Analyst]

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India urban participation rate, in case of rural participation rate, the difference is almost 8 per cent.

11.12 As a general rule the difference between rural and urban participation rates is about 6 to 7 per cent. In Kerala, however, this difference narrows down to 1.3 per cent. This is primarily due to an abnormally low rural participation rate, the causes for which are analyzed below.

11.13 It was mentioned earlier that the population of Kerala has a very high proportion of females and that this is particularly marked in the working age group. Since the proportion of females taking part in economic activity is generally less than that of males, this difference being particularly marked in Kerala (Table 57), it naturally tends to pull down the participation rates.

11.14 The participation rate in the lower ranges of age is very much influenced by the proportion of school-going children. It is well known that the standards of primary education in Kerala are the highest in the whole of India. About 18 per cent of population attends schools and colleges against only 8.31 per cent in the whole of India. This is an important factor in reducing the rural participation rate.

11.15 The size of working force is also a function of the opportunities available for work. The agricultural sector of Kerala is highly over-populated, the size of average holdings being only 1.5 acres (all-India 7.5 acres). Moreover, due to the predominance of perennial crops, cropping pattern in Kerala is much less labour-intensive than in the other parts of India.[1] That the agricultural sector of Kerala is comparatively less labour-absorbing is confirmed by the very low participation rate in the agricultural sector of Kerala in comparison to the non-agricultural sector. (Table 57). These are some of the factors limiting the scope for gainful employment in the rural areas.

Past Trend

11.16 The table below gives an indication of the trend of the general participation rate as indicated from the last three Census operations:

TREND IN PARTICIPATION RATE—1931, 1941 AND 1951

	Population Density	*Participation Rate** (In per cent)	*Total Population* (In lakhs)
1931	634	48.0	95.2
1941	757	36.6	110.37
1951	905	36.1	135.6

*These figures have to be used with reservations since the concepts in successive Censuses were different. However, suitable modifications have been made to make them broadly comparable.

N.B.: Population density and population figures are for Kerala, while participation rate figures are only for Travancore-Cochin.

[1] Chapter on Agriculture and Plantations.

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The fall in the participation ratio between 1931–51[1] may be attributed to three factors:

(*i*) Rise in the sex ratio in favour of females.
(*ii*) Increase in the school-going population.
(*iii*) Slow growth in employment opportunities.

11.17 The force of the first two factors, however, is not sufficient to explain the steep decline in the participation rate. A fall of the magnitude, as shown in the above table, primarily indicates that the increase in opportunities for gainful employment has not been keeping pace with the growth of population which had increased by over 40 per cent between 1931 and 1951 without any corresponding growth of industries or development in other sectors.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN POPULATION DENSITY AND MANPOWER

11.18 Kerala is the most thickly populated State of India having an average density of 1,125 persons to a square mile according to the Census of 1961. The population, however, is not uniformly spread out as may be noticed from the district density figures in Table 58.[3] Malabar is less thickly populated than the Travancore-Cochin area. But the proportion of working force to total population, that is, the participation rate is also lower in the Malabar area. Generally, it is expected that participation rate would be lower in the more congested areas, because an over-crowded agricultural sector naturally offers limited scope for employment. The comparison of Travancore-Cochin and Malabar, however, seems to belie this conclusion. The reason for this contrast perhaps lies in the fact that the major part of the coir industry, the most labour-intensive industry of Kerala, is concentrated mostly in the Travancore-Cochin region.[2] Absence of this industry on a large scale in Malabar seems to account for a lower participation rate in that area.

Occupational Distribution

11.19 Occupational pattern generally gives a broad idea as to the stage of economic development attained by a country or a region. The distribution of working force between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors, is given separately for the rural and urban sectors, in Table 59.[3] A comparison with the all-India occupational distribution brings out a marked contrast in the case of Kerala. Whereas 71.8 per cent of the working force was engaged in agricultural occupations in the whole of India, in case of Kerala the proportion was only 51.4 per cent. In fact in Kerala the proportion of its population dependent upon non-agricultural activities turns out to be the highest in the whole of India.

[1] The difference in the concepts used in 1931 and 1951 Censuses perhaps exaggerates the extent of decline in the participation rates, but it does convey some idea of the fast deterioration in the unemployment situation over the years.

[2] Both these aspects have also been dealt with in Chapter 1.

3,4 [see p 310, category 116 -- Anabstt]

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11.20 As a general rule one associates a high proportion of working force engaged in non-agricultural activities with a high level of industrial development. However, the structure of industries and income contributed by industries[1] do not bear out this contention. Moreover, the Census of 1951 shows that 75 per cent of the non-agricultural population lives in the rural areas. This only goes to prove that the major part of non-agricultural activity is not organized on the lines of modern large scale industry but is composed of occupations more allied to agriculture which are located in the rural areas.

11.21 Two factors, which have already been referred to in a different context,[2] seem to be responsible for this peculiar type of occupational structure. These are:

(i) *Predominance of Perennial Crops*: Over 40 per cent of gross cropped area is covered by these crops (all-India 10%). Since these crops, once they are sown, require comparatively little labour for looking after them, tend to reduce the proportion of working force to the population engaged in agricultural activities.

(ii) *Small Size of Holdings*: Super-imposed upon this is the fact that the average size of holdings in Kerala is very small. This tends to push people away from agricultural to non-agricultural avocations. Coir industry, which is mostly located in the rural areas, is an important example of such non-agricultural occupations.

Changes in Occupational Structure

11.22 Between the Census of 1931 and 1951 population dependent upon agriculture increased from 34.2 per cent to 53.84 per cent. It brings out one fact quite clearly. Although the non-agricultural sector is quite large in terms of its existing employment potential, it has not been dynamic enough to grow at a rate sufficiently large to absorb the growing population. One other consequence of a growing reliance on agriculture, in spite of the congestion already existing there, is the rising proportion of agricultural labourers to total population. Cultivation of owned land cannot be expected to provide a reasonable source of livelihood for all the rural population, when as high as 50 per cent of family holdings are less than one acre in size. The proportion of agricultural labourers to total population, therefore, increased from 12.5 per cent in 1931 to 20.16 per cent in 1951.

PART II: PROSPECTS OF EMPLOYMENT

LABOUR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT

11.23 Some indication has already been given of the high degree of unemployment prevailing in the economy of Kerala. Before proceeding to make a quantitative assessment of the extent of unemployment, it is desirable to clarify the definition of

[1] Chapter 9, Industries— Structure and Growth.
[2] Chapter 1 and Chapter 2.

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some of the concepts used. Working force has already been defined as comprising all those persons who take part in gainful economic activity. Labour force, on the other hand, includes all those members of the population who are already engaged in gainful activity and those who are willing to take up work, generally at the current level of wages. The difference between labour force and the working force gives the magnitude of those who are unemployed and are actively seeking work.

11.24 Although these concepts are quite clear, according to definitions, their application in the context of a backward economy like that of Kerala is fraught with difficulties, which are by now quite well known. The seasonal and non-institutionalized nature of economic activity over a wide sphere of the economy creates problems in the way of precise quantification of unemployment. Statistical accuracy of the figures discussed below is naturally subject to these limitations.

11.25 The main source of information on this subject is the survey of unemployment for Travancore-Cochin and Malabar region carried out by the Statistics Department of the State. The survey was carried out in 1954-55 for the Travancore-Cochin region and in 1956-57 for Malabar. In the absence of figures for the same year, the combined results for the two different years are taken, by and large, to be representative of the situation as it existed during 1955-56.

11.26 Table 60 gives the combined results of the two surveys. According to concepts used in the survey, the total population has been divided into eight activity groups given in column 1 of Table 60. Persons falling in category 4, 6, 7, that is, (*i*) those having regular employment (*ii*) casual workers and (*iii*) the people in search of employment, make up the labour force. Category (7) includes the unemployed persons. The under-employed section of the population is covered by category (6), i.e., the casual workers.

11.27 According to this survey, labour force as a proportion of total population comes to 32.5 per cent (all-India : 42.2%[1]). The difference betweent labour force—population ratio as worked out from this survey and that revealed by the NSS for all-India is primarily due to a difference in the concepts used. The Unemployment Survey of Kerala does not include those below 15 years in the labour force. This assumption is quite justified in the case of a State like Kerala where most of the children go to school. In 1955-56, 14.1 lakh children were registered on the rolls of primary schools. These form about 22 per cent of all the children below 15 years of age. Roughly the same proportion of children below 15 years belong to the labour force in the whole of India (according to the NSS Report). It may, therefore, be concluded that there are only stray cases of children below 15 years belonging to the labour force in Kerala.

11.28 Another way of working out the ratio between the labour force and the total population in the State is to calculate the working force on the basis of Census data and to add to it the number of unemployed persons as obtained from the Unemployment Survey in Kerala. On the basis of the participation rate of 33.5 per cent, working force during 1956 comes out to 50.3 lakh persons[2]. The number of

[1] National Sample Survey : *Report on Employment and Unemployment.*

[2] The manner of working out the working force for 1956 is explained in Appendix I to Chapter I.

[See p. 311, category 116 -- Analyst]

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actively unemployed persons during 1956 was 6.6 lakhs.[1] The total labour force during 1956 may, therefore, be taken to be 56.9 lakh persons, i.e., 37.9 per cent of the total population.

11.29 One striking feature revealed by this survey is the very high degree of open unemployment. Open unemployment comes out to be as high as 4.2 per cent of the total population, as can be seen from Table 60 (Category 7).[2] Generally it is under-employment rather than open unemployment which is prominent in backward agricultural economies. For example, unemployment in India is only 0.29 per cent of total rural population and 1.99 per cent in urban areas giving a weighted average of 0.58 per cent[3]. The percentage of open unemployment to population in Kerala is, therefore, roughly seven times as high as in the rest of India.

11.30 Category (6) of Table 60, that is, the proportion of casual workers to the total population gives an idea of the magnitude of the problem of under-employment. The incidence of under-employment is also higher in Kerala than in India. Of the total population, 9.6 per cent belongs to this category against about 6 per cent for the whole of India.[4] Among the under-employed section of the population, on an average, a worker was unemployed for about 2.35 days per week. This, however, does not tell the whole story. There are the seasonal variations which extend the period of unemployment to several days at a stretch.

11.31 The above figures do not include disguised unemployment. In rural areas, where family enterprise is the dominant form of organization, there is generally a large surplus of hidden manpower which does take part in economic activity, but whose net contribution towards increasing the output is very little. An objective assessment of the surplus in disguised unemployment is rather difficult. It would have to rely heavily upon notional norms regarding optimum labour requirements among the self-employed sector of rural population. Within the coming decade the problem of primary importance, however, is that of providing jobs for the large back-log of unemployed, who sit completely idle, rather than for those who are in the comparatively favourable position of being employed but below their full capacity.

RURAL-URBAN UNEMPLOYMENT

11.32 The nature of unemployment in rural and urban areas varies considerably. According to NSS Report on 'Employment and Unemployment' (9th Round), open unemployment in rural areas was rather insignificant affecting only 0.29 per cent of the total rural population (urban areas 1.99%). Because of the small size of the sample, the unemployment survey referred to above did not collect separate data for rural and urban unemployment in Kerala. Under these circumstances, only rough

[1] Table 60.

[2] It may be noted that in Table 60 the absolute number of unemployed persons is likely to be high since a portion of Travancore-Cochin, viz., Kanyakumari was transferred to Madras. However, the percentage figures may be assumed to be fairly correct.

[3] *NSS Report on Employment and Unemployment.*

[4] *Ibid.*

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approximations can be made regarding the number of persons unemployed in rural and urban areas.

11.33 There is reason to believe that the high incidence of open unemployment in Kerala is primarily due to high rural unemployment. The two basic reasons for this premise, viz., the very small size of holdings and predominance of perennial crops have already been explained. This conclusion is also corroborated by evidence from some other sources. During 1956 the number of unemployed persons registered with the Employment Exchanges was 38,988 persons.[1] A majority of those registering themselves with the Employment Exchanges generally come from the urban areas. It is believed that roughly 25 per cent[2] of the unemployed persons get themselves registered with the Employment Exchanges in India. In Kerala, the standard of literacy being very high, it may be assumed that a higher proportion (40%) of the unemployed get themselves registered. On this basis the total number of unemployed persons in urban areas would be about 0.95 lakhs. Out of the total unemployed population of 6.6 lakhs, about 5.65 lakhs must, therefore, be residents of rural areas. On the basis of these calculations, rural-urban distribution of the unemployed and the labour force for 1956 is given in the table below:

DISTRIBUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

(In Million)

	Rural	*Urban*	*Total*
1. Population	12.9 (86%)	2.10 (14.0%)	15 0 (100%)
2. Working Force	4.34	.68	5.02
3. Unemployed	0.565	.095	.66
4. Unemployed as Percentage of Population	0.44	.45	.44
5. Labour Force (2+3)	4.905	.775	5.68
6. Labour Force as Percentage of Population	3.80	3.69	3.786

11.34 It may thus be seen that unlike the rest of India the percentage of unemployed population in rural areas is not markedly less than that in the urban areas. In both areas it works out to about 4.5 per cent.

Educational Standards of the Unemployed

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11.35 Analysis of educational attainments of the unemployed population can be helpful in throwing light on the qualitative aspects of the unemployed. The impression one generally gets about Kerala is that unemployment is more severe among the educated persons. The results of the Kerala Unemployment Survey do not exactly bear out this contention. Only 6.8 per cent of those unemployed had been educated upto school leaving (SSLC) standard. The extent of technical education was even lower, only 2.5 per cent of the unemployed having received any form of technical education. It would thus appear that although a fairly large proportion of the unemployed may be literate, not many of them are educated, if ESLC is taken to be the minimum requirement for being defined as an educated person.

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[1] *Basic Statistics—Kerala*, published by the State Department of Statistics.

[2] *NSS—Preliminary Report on Urban Unemployment* Sept. 1953.

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TABLE 2

DENSITY OF POPULATION IN KERALA

District	*Population*	*Density per sq. mile*
Trivandrum	1,738,085	2,052
Quilon	1,929,845	994
Alleppey	1,809,530	2,545
Kottayam	1,730,436	745
Ernakulam	1,858,440	1,468
Trichur	1,634,251	1,422
Palghat	1,775,477	896
Kozhikode	2,619,285	1,283
Cannanore	1,779,852	649
KERALA	*16,875,109*	*1,735*

SOURCE: 1961 Census Provisional Population figures.

TABLE 3

ESTIMATE OF STATE INCOME OF KERALA (1955-56)
(At current prices)

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	Kerala		*India*	
	Rs. crores	*Per cent*	*Rs. crores*	*Per cent*
A. Primary Income	*172.5*	*49.1*	*4,320.0*	*45.6*
1. Agriculture	151.3	43.1	4,300.0	44.9
2. Animal Husbandry	10.7	3.0		
3. Forestry	5.0	1.4	70.0	0.5
4. Fisheries	5.5	1.6	60.0	
B. Secondary Income	*58.3*	*16.6*	*1,130.0*	*11.8*
1. Factory enterprises	18.0	4.8	780.0	7.8
2. Non-factory enterprises	32.3	9.6	970.0	9.7
3. Mining	2.0	0.6	100.0	1.0
C. Tertiary Income	*120.8*	*34.3*	*3,810.0*	*38.9*
1. Communications	3.5			
2. Railways	35.9			
3. Other Transport and Commerce	3.5			
4. Organized Banks and Insurance	31.3			
5. Professions, Arts and Domestic Services	14.6			
6. Public Authorities	18.0			
7. House Property				
TOTAL	*351.6*	*100*	*9,940*	*100*
Population (millions)	15.01		383.0	
Per Capita Income	234.4		261.0	

[Pp. 216–269 have not been processed]

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TABLE 4

SECTORAL EMPLOYMENT AND LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY IN KERALA (1955-56)

	Working force			*Net value added per worker (Rs.)*	
	Kerala		*India*	*Kerala*	*India*
	Lakhs[a]	*Per cent*	*Per cent*		
1. Primary Sector	27.6	54.9	71.8	625	411
2. Secondary Sector	9.7 (100%)	19.3	9.4	539	1,294
(a) Factory Enterprises	1.7 (17.5%)	..	..	1,059	2,500
(b) Non-factory Enterprises	7.8 (80.4%)	..	..	413	915
(c) Mining	0.2 (2.1%)	..	..	..	..
3. Tertiary Sector	13.0	25.8	18.8	975.4	1,249
TOTAL	*50.3*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*700.00*	*651.00*

[a] Recently, the Statistics Department of the Government of Kerala conducted an Integrated Sample Survey. According to this, estimate of total employment in Kerala during 1957-58 was 46.3 lakhs. The difference between these estimates and the one given above are obviously due to difference in the concepts used. The concepts used here are based on classification adopted in the 1951 Census. For the purpose of this report figures based on the Census data are being used. Since Techno-Economic Surveys of other States have also used Census data for calculation of working force, the uniformity provided by this data possesses the advantage that it allows inter-State comparisons. The alternative estimates of employment structure in Kerala, as revealed by the Integrated Sample Survey are given below:

	(In lakhs)
1. Primary Sector	*24.5*
2. Secondary Sector	*9.4*
(a) Mining	0.5
(b) Factory	1.5
(c) Non-factory	7.4
3. Tertiary Sector	*13.4*
TOTAL	*46.3*

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TABLE 58

DENSITY OF POPULATION (KERALA STATE)
(Figures based on 1951 Census)

District		Participation rate (Per cent)	Density of population	
Trivandrum	Travancore-Cochin	36.2	1,569	
Quilon			749	
Alleppey			2,148	
Kottayam			664	
Ernakulam			982	
Trichur			1,188	
Palghat		28.5	795	783
Kozhikode			809	
Cannanore			618	
State Total			904	

Palghat, Kozhikode and Cannanore formed the previous districts of Malabar.

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TABLE 59

OCCUPATIONAL BREAK-UP OF WORKING FORCE (1951)

	KERALA						INDIA					
	Rural		Urban		Combined		Rural		Urban		Combined	
	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage
Agricultural Sector	22.3	60.3	1.1	18.9	23.4	51.4	990	81.8	30	18.9	1,020	71.8
Non-agricultural Sector	17.3	39.8	4.7	81.1	22.0	48.6	218	18.2	184	81.1	402	28.2
TOTAL	39.6	100.0	5.8	100.0	45.4	100.0	1,208	100.0	214	100.0	1,422	100.0

[Pp. 286–309 not Processed]

TABLE 60

UNEMPLOYMENT POSITION IN KERALA

Activity status	Travancore-Cochin		Malabar		Kerala	
I	II		III		IV=II+III	
	Absolute number (In lakhs)	Percentage to total population	Absolute number (In lakhs)	Percentage to total population	Absolute number (In lakhs)	Percentage to total population
(a) Below 15 years age	41.3	40.7	20.7	36.9	62.0	39.4
(b) Above 15 years	60.2	60.1	35.3	63.0	95.5	60.6
1. Students	4.0	4.0	1.2	2.1	5.2	3.3
2. Disabled or too old	4.6	4.5	3.2	5.7	7.8	4.9
3. Pensioners or Rentiers	1.1	1.4	0.5	0.4	1.2	0.8
4. Having Regular Employment	19.7	19.6	9.8	17.5	29.5	18.7
5. Household Workers	19.2	19.0	10.9	19.4	30.1	19.1
6. Casual Workers	9.1	8.0	7.2	12.1	15.2	9.6
7. People in search of employment	3.7	3.6	2.9	5.9	6.6	4.2
TOTAL POPULATION	*101.3*	*100*	*56.0*	*100*	*157.3*	*100*
LABOUR FORCE (4+6+7)	*31.4*	*30.9*	*19.87*	*35.5*	*61.2*	*38.6*
Category (7) as percentage of labour force	*3.7*	*11.62*	*2.9*	*14.64*	*6.68*	*10.79*

Source: The Statistics Department, Government of Kerala.

TABLE 61

COMPARATIVE SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING FORCE

Sector	Proportion of working force	
	1956	*1971*
1. Primary Sector	54.9	42.2
2. Secondary Sector	19.3	24.6
(a) Factory Sector	3.4	9.2
(b) Non-factory Sector and Mining	15.9	15.4
3. Tertiary Sector	25.8	33.2
TOTAL	*100.0*	*100.0*

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AWll Kerala AWll
Pulluvans

ries "brother" but which really refer to someone of another village and *kiriyam*.[1]

The Putanpumakkil house stood on ground belonging to a Nayar *janmi*, cousin of the former Secretary of the States Ministry in New Delhi, Sri V. P. Menon, called Wuppala Shankara Narayana Menon. They paid a *kudiyiruppu* rent of one *fanan* (annas four and pies six) yearly. They made their miserable living from plying their traditional trade. To give me a sample of their musical abilities, they offered me a concert on the instruments which they used; those included the famous *Pulluva-kudam*, a sort of stringed instrument cum drum; but I am afraid that the effect was not pleasing to my ears.

While carrying out these investigations among polyandrous households in the Walluvanad taluk, I endeavoured to obtain statistics concerning the proportions of the sexes of the two principal polyandrous castes studied, the Thandans and the Kammalans, but they were unobtainable. The Tahsildar of the Walluvanad taluk, on instruction from the Collector of Malabar, however, sent me the following letter:

"Tuluk Office, Walluvanad
Perintalmanna, Dt. 9-12-49

Sir,
Statistics of certain populations
Called for – Furnished.
Collector's Ref. W-4-1450/49 dated 4-12-49

As ordered by the Collector's reference cited, the statistics of Izhuvas and Kammalans are not available in the Census records available in this office. The figures now furnished are approximate and are based on local enquiries made by me and my subordinates.

	Male	Female
Thandans (Izuvans) / /	5100	6100
Kammalans (Karuvans, Thattan, Musari & Assari)	2600	3100

signed
? Menon
Tahsildar
9.12.49"

[1] Iyer, in *The Cochin Tribes and Castes* (Vol. I, p. 148, 1909 ed., see Bibliography), says that, with the Pulluvans "nor can a woman allow herself to conjugal servitude to more than one". In view of the above evidence, this pronouncement does not appear to be correct.

12:Peter E-5 (1939, 1949)1963 AWII Kerala AWII
Thandans

It would appear, therefore, that, far from there being an excess of men, it is the other way round: there is a shortage of them. What happens then to the unmarried women? It was even more difficult to answer that question, as only a painstaking and lengthy investigation could do this. I enquired from my guides and interpreters, from those I interviewed, from officials and from fellow anthropologists, and the consensus of opinion, which I also share, is that the spinsters stay at home – with their parents, as long as they live, and with their brothers when the parents have died. The genealogies given above somewhat confirm this view, although perhaps not as decisively as one would like.

C. POLYANDRY IN A THANDAN FAMILY OF THE WALLUVANAD TALUK OF SOUTH MALABAR

While engaged in a general survey of polyandry in Kerala, in the course of which I came into contact with people of all sorts and conditions, in this complex State, it was not possible for me simultaneously to make a more special study of the distinctive features of the custom. At first, I really only obtained a superficial impression which, with time, I came to look upon as insufficient for me to speak with any authority on the polyandry practised by some of the distinctive castes and sub-castes of this south-west part of India.

Because I wanted to deepen my research and also out of a feeling that the opportunity to gather everything that I could while I was there should not be missed, I decided to choose one family from among those that I had already visited with my guides and interpreters, to put it under scrutiny and study its structure and activity in greater detail. Actually, I would have liked to have chosen one family in each caste or even sub-caste, but I soon realised that this meant work over a period of time far greater than I could possibly hope to have at my disposal in Kerala. So I resigned myself to enquiring where it was thought that I stood the best chance of making such a special study. I was advised to return to the Thandan family which I had first visited on the 25th and 26th of October, immediately after I had started to work in 1949. This family, it will be remembered, was called Appayl Wattakkeh, its *tarawad* had the same name, Appayl, and it was located about two miles outside the village of Ottappalam in the Walluvanad taluk of south Malabar.

The advantages of studying these people were numerous. They were close to where I lived, and to the residence of my interpreters. We had

TODA AW60
23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
KERALA AW11
2234

stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AW1 India
Kerala AW11

342 From the portico, you go direct into a big hall in the middle of which is a big yard paved with granite; this yard is exposed to the sky. On one side of the hall—right or left—are situated two or three rooms, from one of which you are taken to upstairs rooms which are also connected with the portico. On the portico side of the hall are the kitchen, bath-room, and a few more rooms which are utilized for various purposes. In another place of the compound is an outhouse in which Brahmans are asked to perform worship.* Near this house is a tank and a well. The house itself possesses a well near it for the exclusive use of the inmates.

But educated Nayars now-a-days build their houses on different plans.

361 *Preliminary.*—Watakanchery is a Government division, rather than a true village, being marked out merely for convenience of revenue assessment. It stretches from east to west a distance of nearly four miles along the foot of a hill. A water-course which runs from east to west forms the northern boundary; the maximum distance from north to south is nearly a mile and a half. The whole area is 3,692·64 acres (nearly 5½ square miles). It is an area containing a few groups of houses intersected by paddy fields and "parambas," i.e., land on which paddy cultivation is not undertaken.

Watakanchery proper, or the town of Watakanchery, as it is called in the village accounts, is at the easternmost boundary of the Government village area and is the headquarters of the taluk containing all the public offices. Two tracts of land, one inhabited by Mappillas (Muhammadans) and another by Syrian Christians (locally known as Nasranees, i.e., Nazarenes) are included in the "town" of Watakanchery from the contiguous areas of the adjoining Government villages on the north and south respectively. Its area is 1½ square miles.

The Taluk of Talapilli contains 74 such "villages" divided solely for revenue purposes. In the "town" Brahmans live in great numbers, while the lower castes occupy the rest of the village area. This block I shall designate Watakanchery (T) and the whole area Watakanchery (V) in the following.

162 [779] 564 *Population.*—Watakanchery (T) has about 2,000 inhabitants; Watakanchery (V) about 4,000. Watakanchery (T) contains within its limits three religions—Hindus in the centre and Mappillas (Muhammadans) and Christians to the north and south, respectively. Among the Hindus the Brahmans form the majority in the "town," while there are a few "vocational" castes such as barbers, goldsmiths, etc., and a few Nayars. Though the term "castes" is in strictness to be applied to Hindus alone the Mappillas and Christians are regarded as two other castes. The Mappillas and the Christians cannot touch the Hindu caste-people without polluting them, while there are castes within the Hindu fold itself, such as carpenters, goldsmiths, masons, Cherumas (vide below), Eluvas, etc., who are [113] kept at a distance of a specified number of feet by the higher castes. There is a full and interesting study of the tribes and castes in Mr. L. K. Anandakrishna Iyer's "Cochin Tribes and Castes." The Hindus however form the majority.

[778] *[In Nayar houses, I am informed by Mr. L. K. Anandakrishna Iyer, this shrine is sacred to the cobra, to whom worship must be given by a Nambudri brahman, as otherwise the Nayars are bitten. This belief may be the cause of the subjection imposed on Nayars by Nambudris, particularly in relation to Nayar women.—Ed.]

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
Kerala AWII

423 his neighbour seeing the improvements resorts to bribery in order to get the land.

242 Further this system results in the disregard of agricultural principles. Supposing only ten coconut palms should be planted in a certain portion of land, the possessor actually plants fifteen or sixteen because at the end of twelve years he will get the value of fifteen or sixteen trees according to the Tenants Improvements Act. If he is content with planting only ten according to agricultural principles, he gets only the value of ten. For many years past there has been no attempt towards scientific cultivation, as a consequence of this, in the whole of Malabar. It is impossible to do so. Disregard of science means gain; regard for it means loss. There is an evident deterioration in the production of the land in Malabar due to absence of security, and disregard of science. Lands which brought a gain of Rs. 1,000 do not now bring even Rs. 400 or Rs. 500. An improvement in this system of land tenure by means of legislation would evidently increase the fertility of Malabar.

Population.—Total population 7,596.*

162 Castes and individuals in each caste—

Name of caste.	Families.	Members.
Nambudri or Malabar Brahmans	36	146
East Coast Brahmans or Brahmans who have emigrated to Malabar from the east ...	107	653
Nayars and their sub-sects	382	1,305
Tiyyas and their sub-sects	437	2,461
Muhammadans	331	2,307
Christians	118	592
Artisan castes, etc.	17	117
Total ...	1,428	7,581

163 Number of children under ten in families—Living 3,490, dead 928.

165 Number of homesteads—1,290.

	1915.	
	Births.	Deaths.
Boys	178	76
Girls	158	80
Total ...	336*	156*

165 The following table of deaths may be useful:—

Children between ages	0—10	87*
Between ages	10—20	2
,,	21—25	8
,,	26—30	8
,,	31—35	6
,,	36—40	4

Birth-rate ... ... 44·2 per thousand
Death-rate ... ... 20·5 ,,
Death-rate for children 0—10 ... 359 per thousand births.
Density of population ... ... 323·1 per square mile.—Ed.]

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KOTHACHIRA DESAM (PONNANI TALUK).

[*By A. Krishna Wariyar, Christian College, Madras.*]

Preliminary.—This desam is situated about 13 miles south-east of Ponnani, a small thriving town at the mouth of the river of the same name, a Muhammadan centre and the headquarters of the taluk. The visitor to Kothachira leaves the train at Pattambi, the nearest railway station and after a six miles walk along the Pattambi-Chowghat road turns to the left and by a footpath over a rising eminence descends into the paddy fields. A two miles walk southwards through these fields will bring him to the borders of the Kothachira desam.

This desam is a completely rural area and there is nothing of interest in the place. The shortest distance from the nearest river (river Ponnani) is 5 miles. Hills and forests are not rare since the desam enjoys proximity to the Akalanum (east) and the Mattur (north) hills.

The term 'desam' literally means a piece of territory. The desam is the political and social unit in Malabar, and is the nearest equivalent to the villages of the east. The chief differences, however, are—(1) the village organization, in its entirety, is not found here; (2) the village has no particular site. The population is distributed throughout the desam area, each individual landholder having his home and family compound often in the midst of his lands and gardens and separated far from his neighbours.

Population.—The population of this desam according to the censuses of 1891 and 1901 was as follows:—

Year of census.	Number of inhabited houses.	Total population.			Religion.			Occupation.				Population per 100 acres of occupied land.
		Males.	Females.	Total.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	Others.	Landholders.	Labourers.	Weavers.	Others.	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1891 ...	295	898	985	1,883	1,678	204	1	767	563	...	553	221
1901 ...	312	961	1,047	2,008	1,808	200	...	559	378	...	1,071	236

The report of the last census (that of 1911) is not obtainable. My enquiry gives the following results:—

Number of houses 333.

Males ...	1,216	Hindus ...	1,990	Landholders ...	442
Females ...	1,107	Muhammadans.	327	Labourers ...	518
		Others ...	6	Weavers ...	...
				Others * ...	1,363
Total ...	2,323		2,323		2,323

* Including all who have no regular occupation, children, women of higher castes, old men, and even a good many young men belonging to joint families.

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VATANAMKURUSSI VILLAGE (WALLUVANAD TALUK).

[*By N. Sundara Aiyar, Presidency College, Madras.*]

361 489 *Preliminary.*—The village lies in the interior of the district, thirty miles west of the municipal town of Palghat on the high road that passes from Palghat to Ponnani. It is to the north of the railway line passing from Calicut to Palghat, and about equidistant from the two railway stations of Shoranur and Pattambi on that line (South Indian Railway). It is fifty-four miles south-east (by railway) of the port of Calicut, the capital of the district.

361 131 The village is more or less surrounded by low hills on all sides, and there is a small forest to the east of it. A portion of the village has for its southern boundary the Bharata Puzha (called the Ponnani river, because it joins the sea at Ponnani). The river is of little use for navigation, since it is in flood during the rains and almost dry in summer. The railway passes through the village, for about a mile, though the nearest railway station is 4¼ miles distant. The trunk road from Palghat also passes through the middle of the village. The village is roughly in the shape of a triangle with its apex to the north and the base on the south. Being in the midst of hilly country, dry soil abounds in the village, though the few wet acres are comparatively good.

162 *Population.*—The total population of the village in Census years was as follows :—

Year.	Occupied houses.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.
1891 ...	322	1,055	1,134	2,189	2,116	73
1901 ...	369	1,130	1,187	2,317	2,226	91
1911 ...	398	1,210	1,270	2,480	2,373	107

The figures include those of an adjacent small village, of which the total population in 1911 was 124, all Hindus.

564 There are Brahmans and Sudras, the latter split up into a large number of sub-castes and sects like the Nayars, Nambiyars, Menons, Chettis, etc., and the lower classes like the Thiyyas, or Ezhuvans, and the depressed classes of Cherumas, Pariahs and Nayadis. Nayars predominate in the village. There are a few Muhammadans, but no Christians at all.

Of Brahmans there are ten families comprising 60 individuals resident in the village. There are two families of Nambudiri Brahmans with some 30 members.

162 The great majority are Nayars, of whom there are about 150 families with nearly 1,500 individuals. Cherumas may number between 300 and 400, the Thiyyas or Ezhuvans about 500. The chief minor sub-castes in the village are Chettis (34), Kunparars (Potters, about 50), Asaris (Carpenters, 28), Karuvans (blacksmiths, 21), Thattars (goldsmiths, 19), Panans (makers of bamboo and palm leaf umbrellas, 29), Masons (13), Pariahs (42), and five families of Mannans, washermen of the lower classes, who also make mud walls, engage themselves as herdsmen and act as Pujaris, i.e.,

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Kerala AWII

perform priestly functions for the lowest classes. There are also in the village a few families of Ambalavasis (about 35 persons) who rank above the Nayars and perform menial and other functions in temples, and also practise Ayurvedic medicine. 162

Births and deaths.—The village register gives the following statistics of births and deaths for the year 1915 (as far as I could ascertain, a normal year). 163

Births.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Hindus	37	41	78
Muhammadans	2	1	3
	39	42	81

Deaths. 165

Below 1 year	8	2	10
Between 1 and 5	1	4	5
„ 5 and 10	4	1	5
„ 15 and 20	2	1	3
„ 30 and 40	2	2	4
„ 40 and 50	3	...	3
„ 50 and 60	2	2	4
Above 60	3	4	7
	25	16	41

Causes—

	Males.	Females.	
Fever	7	6	Causes are not accurate.
Dysentery and diarrhoea ...	11	6	
Respiratory diseases ...	6	4	
Injuries	1	...	
	25	16	

The figures seem to be fairly accurate, though not quite so. The death rate seems to be too low compared to the birth rate. But the figures are admittedly incomplete as is seen from the remarks made upon the register by the supervising authority. The deficiency is probably in the record of *deaths of young children.*

The causes of this defect are (1) registration not being compulsory; (2) indifference or ignorance of village authorities and of villagers who hardly seem to realize the importance of registration; (3) the villagers' suspicion of registration; they do not know its object.

There is no Paracheri strictly so called as in villages of eastern districts. There are scattered dwellings of depressed classes, Cherumas and Pariahs. There are five families of Pariahs, consisting of 13 men, 13 women and 16 children. Of the men two have gone for work to the Kolar Gold Fields and one to Wynaad. The proportion of children to adults is much smaller among the Cherumas and Pariahs than among the Brahmans and Nayars. 621 [167]